

AN ILLUMINATED
BYZANTINE PSALTER
AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

LAWRENCE NEES

IN 1819 Edward Everett purchased, through the British Consul General in Constantinople, several Greek manuscripts "belonging to the family of a Greek prince in decay" which he presented to Harvard University the following year.¹ Among the manuscripts was a Psalter, believed by Everett to date from the thirteenth century,² which is now kept as MS gr. 3 in the Houghton Library at Harvard. The manuscript contains two non-scribal colophons:³ the earlier, folio A, states that Michael Kantakuzenos "took this Psalter in order to learn it" on St. Catherine's Day, 1589. The second colophon, folio B, is written in a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century hand, and contains passages copied from several books⁴ concerning a different Michael Kantakuzenos, who died in 1578. Apparently the scribe of this late colophon erroneously assumed that these passages referred to the person of the same name mentioned on folio A.

Although this Psalter has been in the Harvard College Library for 150 years, it has received scant attention in art historical literature. It is listed in De Ricci's *Census*, in which it is assigned to the fourteenth century.⁵ The manuscript appeared in an exhibition at Harvard in 1955, and was assigned a twelfth-century date in the catalogue, but unfortunately was not illustrated.⁶ Recently the manuscript was shown in an exhibition at Princeton University in honor of Kurt Weitzmann, and one miniature was reproduced in the catalogue.⁷

The Harvard Psalter contains 289 parchment folios, with dimensions of 22.5 × 17.8 cm. The text is written in minuscule in single columns, with twenty-one or twenty-two lines to the page. The two colophons are inserted at the front of the volume, and are written on paper. The binding is early nineteenth-century Russian leather. The volume includes, in addition to the Psalms proper, the nine Odes, a short Synaxarion, various prayers, Psellus'

¹ E. Everett, "An Account of Some Greek Manuscripts Procured at Constantinople in 1819 and now Belonging to the Library of the University at Cambridge," *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, IV, 2 (1820), 409 ff.

I would like to thank Professor Hugo Buchthal, Mr. Gary Vikan, and Professors William Loerke, Henry Maguire, and especially Kurt Weitzmann for many valuable suggestions. I am particularly indebted to Professor Ernst Kitzinger, who initially called the manuscript to my attention and has read and carefully criticized the drafts of this paper.

² *Ibid.*, 412.

³ I wish to thank Professor Nigel Wilson for reading and interpreting these colophons for me.

⁴ The passages are from M. Crusius, *Turcograeciae libri octo* (Basel, 1584), 211 ff.; J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca*, 1st ed., VI (Hamburg, 1705–28), 696; and the "unpublished history" of Demetrios Ramadan, "notes about the wealth and downfall of Michael Τελεμπίης Kantakuzenos," Cambridge, Harvard University, MS gr. 3.

⁵ S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, I (New York, 1935), 971.

⁶ *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts*, Catalogue of an Exhibition, Fogg Art Museum and Houghton Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 10.

⁷ *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, Catalogue of an Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann, The Art Museum, Princeton University, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1973), 128–29, fig. 56.

introduction to the Psalms, and the Paschal tables.⁸ The manuscript is decorated with three full-page miniatures and three ornamental headpieces, two of which contain figures. A complete list of the contents is as follows:

- fol. 1^r–7^v Psellus' introduction to the Psalms
- fol. 8^v full-page miniature of the Deesis, with David and a donor
- fol. 9^r ornamental headpiece to Psalm 1
- fol. 9^r–112^v Psalms 1–76
- fol. 113^r headpiece to Psalm 77, with small miniature of Moses presenting the Tablets of the Law to the Israelites; also a portrait of Asaph attached to the initial
- fol. 113^r–215^r Psalms 77–151
- fol. 215^v full-page miniature of David and Goliath in two registers: the battle above and the beheading below
- fol. 216^v full-page miniature of the Crossing of the Red Sea
- fol. 217^r headpiece to the first Ode of Moses, with a small portrait of Moses
- fol. 217^r–232^v Odes
- fol. 232^v verses of an unidentified monk Gregory on the Last Judgment, an otherwise unattested variant of the normal text from the *Triodion* for the eighth Sunday before Easter⁹
- fol. 233^r–261^v various prayers
- fol. 262^r–279^v Synaxarion
- fol. 279^v–281^v Troparion
- fol. 282^r–289^v Easter tables

The Harvard Psalter is not included in Lake's survey of dated Greek minuscule manuscripts¹⁰ although it can be quite precisely dated. The first entry of the Easter tables at the end of the codex gives the date for Easter as April 9 in the Indiction year 13, year of Creation 6613. All of this information corresponds to the year 1105,¹¹ and the manuscript may confidently be dated in that or perhaps in the preceding year, an attribution entirely consistent with the style of the ornament and figures.¹²

⁸ The contents of the manuscript have previously been listed in an unpublished catalogue at the Houghton Library at Harvard: E. Boer, *Description of Greek Mss. in the Harvard University Library* (1928), fol. 7^r.

⁹ I would like to thank Miss Rachel Kitzinger for transcribing and Father Maximos Aghiorgoussis for identifying this text.

¹⁰ K. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 11 vols. (Boston, 1934–45).

¹¹ Cf. H. Lietzmann, *Zeitrechnung der römischen Kaiserzeit, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für die Jahre 1–2000 nach Christus*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1956), 46. Professor Ihor Ševčenko was kind enough to read these tables for me.

¹² For example, compare the ornament of fol. 113^r (fig. 3) to that in two other Psalters from the end of the 11th century, Venice, Marciana, gr. 565, fol. 341^r, and Vatican, cod. gr. 342, fols. 25^r and 247^r; these miniatures are published and dated by M. Bonicatti, "Un salterio greco miniato del periodo comneno: [Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. gr. 565, già 113, cl. II, Natiano 167]," *Bullettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano*, N.S., 2–3 (1956–57), pt. I, 117ff., pl. ix, fig. 1, and pl. xviii. Also the liturgical roll in Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library, cod. Stavrou 109, which is attributed to Constantinople and dated by Grabar to about 1100, has on its headpiece double concentric tendrils with attached flowers similar to the ornament on fol. 9^r of the Harvard Psalter (fig. 2); cf. A. Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 161ff.

THE MINIATURES

Folio 8^v A full-page miniature of the Deesis faces the opening verses of the first Psalm, serving not as an illustration of that Psalm but as a frontispiece to the Psalter as a whole (fig. 1). The page is dominated by a large and elaborate ornamental frame made up of single columns at each side supporting a central pediment. The ornament flanking the pediment consists of spiraling tendrils to either side of a large circular vine which encloses a quatrefoil arrangement of tendrils and attached floral forms. The treatment of the ornament is rough and somewhat careless rather than finely detailed, with the colors loosely brushed over one another. A flat golden ground covers most of the framed space, stopping just short of the two lateral columns, thus leaving a narrow vertical strip of blank parchment at each side. Against this gold ground, Christ is shown standing on a red dais, dressed in a dull-red tunic and blue mantle, holding a closed codex in his left hand and raising the right before his chest in the gesture of blessing. At his right the Virgin, in blue tunic and red mantle, and at his left John the Baptist stand in attitudes of supplication, while at Christ's feet a small figure appears in *proskynesis*. David, who wears a brilliant red tunic, is squeezed between the column at the left and the gold ground against which the central figures are placed and is painted on the narrow strip of blank parchment at that side. The miniature is badly flaked in places, notably on the figure in *proskynesis* and on the Baptist. Fortunately, however, the heads are for the most part intact, much of the gold ground remains, and most of the ornament is undamaged. There are no inscriptions.

The figures are elongated in proportions and painted in rather bright colors, their garments depicted by flat areas of color, with the simple folds of the cloth and the movement of the body beneath expressed solely by a framework of black or white lines. Shading is not employed to indicate the fall of light except in the heads, which are much more carefully modeled in light and dark, although still somewhat two-dimensional in effect. The emphatically linear quality, bright colors, and elongation of the figures are all features characteristic of Byzantine works from the second half of the eleventh century.¹³ Related in its linear style to the Harvard Psalter, although of far superior quality, is the beautiful Gospel book in Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 710/5, for which an approximate date of 1100 has been proposed.¹⁴ Strikingly similar to the Christ of the Harvard Psalter Deesis is the half-length figure of Christ on a single leaf (inserted in another codex) in the Princeton Theological Seminary, cod. acc. no. 11.21.1900, folio 1^r, which has been assigned a date in the late eleventh century.¹⁵ The flat and extremely

¹³ These characteristics of later eleventh-century style are discussed at length in K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1966), 207 ff.; reprinted in *idem*, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler (Chicago-London, 1971), 271 ff.

¹⁴ H. Buchthal, "An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of about 1100 A.D.," *Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne, 1961), illustration on cover.

¹⁵ *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, 114-15, fig. 45.

simplified drapery of the figure of David in the Harvard Psalter may be compared to that of the monks in the frontispiece miniature of a manuscript in Copenhagen, Gl. Kongl. Saml. 1343, although the figures of this Copenhagen manuscript are less elongated in proportions and have much more effectively rendered heads.¹⁶ Finally, the head of the Virgin in the Deesis miniature very nearly resembles the head of Prochoros on the John page of a Gospel book in the monastery of Megaspelaion, cod. 8 (fig. 12),¹⁷ which may actually be a product of the same scriptorium. Beyond sharing the elongated proportions and other features typical of works dating from around the year 1100, the figures in both manuscripts have the same small deep-set eyes, small mouths accentuated by a dark dot on the chin, and crease lines on the neck which create a "double chin" effect.

The use of a full-page Deesis miniature as the frontispiece to the Psalter is certainly the most remarkable feature of the Harvard manuscript. Only one other Byzantine Psalter prior to the Latin conquest contains such a miniature, the manuscript formerly in the Berlin Theological Seminary, no. 3807, which contains a cycle of miniatures very closely related in many respects to the Harvard Psalter and can also be dated around the year 1100.¹⁸ Several examples of full-page Deesis frontispieces do occur in Gospel and lectionary manuscripts,¹⁹ but it would be incorrect to view the appearance of the theme in a Psalter as an example of a "migrated" miniature. Having no specific narrative context, the Deesis is essentially the "pictorialization of the Commemoration or Intercession prayer of the Byzantine liturgy,"²⁰ and its

¹⁶ The manuscript contains ascetic tracts by St. Basil. The frontispiece, on fol. 1^r, is the only miniature but is of very fine quality; framed with an inscription written in gold identifying the scribe and illuminator as a monk Basil, it depicts this monk in *proskynesis* at the feet of St. Basil, who is flanked by two groups of monks. Cf. M. Mackeprang, V. Madsen, and C. S. Petersen, *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts, X–XIII Centuries, in Danish Collections* (Copenhagen-London, 1921), 3, pl. II.

¹⁷ *Byzantine Art, an European Art*, Catalogue of an Exhibition (Athens, 1964), no. 726 (with older bibliography); Mr. Gary Vikan first brought this manuscript to my attention. Cf. also E. Tsimas and S. Papachadzidakis, *Χειρόγραφα Εὐαγγέλια Μονῆς Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου* (Athens, n.d.), pls. 34–58, which I have been unable to consult. A full set of photographs exists in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, which Professor Kurt Weitzmann generously made available to me for this paper.

¹⁸ G. Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter with Byzantine Miniatures," *ArtB*, 15 (1933), 311ff. A very similar Deesis does occur as one of the frontispieces in the Psalter of Queen Melisende, in London, British Museum, Egerton cod. 139, but this Crusader manuscript clearly stands outside the main Byzantine development; cf. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), pl. 12b.

¹⁹ Mt. Athos, Lavra cod. 92, from the 10th century (cf. K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1935], fig. 179); an early 12th-century manuscript in the Patriarchal Library in Constantinople (cf. G. A. Sotiriou, *Κειμήλια τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου* [Athens, 1937], pl. 54); an 11th-century Armenian manuscript in Venice, San Lazzaro cod. 1400 (cf. K. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts* [Bamberg, 1933], fig. 44); and finally, a full-page Deesis miniature, whose function is not clear to me, is found in the very beautifully and richly illustrated 12th-century Georgian manuscript called the Gelati Gospels, Q-908, in the collection of the K. Kekelidze Institute in the Georgian S.S.R. (cf. H. Machavariani, *Georgian Manuscripts* [Tbilisi, 1970], pl. 21; and V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, trans. G. Fossati [Turin, 1967], 264 note 171, who suggests that the manuscript was actually illuminated at the Iviron monastery on Mt. Athos).

²⁰ D. Mouriki, "A Deesis Icon in the Art Museum," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 28 (1968), 14 (here a survey of older bibliography concerning the Deesis). How very closely the Deesis

presence in the Harvard codex is chiefly due to the fact that, like the lectionary, the Psalter is a liturgical manuscript. The intimate connection of the Deesis scene with the liturgical cycle is demonstrated by its appearance on ivories²¹ and painted icons, where it is often associated with representations of the Apostles or illustrations of the twelve great Feasts.²² The early development of the theme in Byzantine art further confirms its close relationship to the liturgy, as it appears likely that the first Deesis images decorated the central portion of the epistyle of the chancel screen.²³ The presence of the Deesis image in the Harvard Psalter stems from the desire to link the miniature cycle of the Psalter with the liturgy of the Byzantine church.²⁴

Although the Deesis scene is extremely rare, its inclusion in the Harvard and Berlin Psalters should not be regarded as an isolated and aberrant departure from normal Byzantine Psalter iconography. Other representations of Christ and miniatures based on the liturgy, although quite unusual in the manuscripts of the "artistocratic" Psalter recension,²⁵ occur with some

scene is related to the liturgy can also be observed in a very concrete fashion by comparing the normal structure of the image to the arrangement of the eucharistic bread on the paten according to the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. In the current usage of the Orthodox rite the central portion of the bread, stamped with the letters IC XC NIKA and known as the Lamb, is placed at the center of the paten. Another particle, known as the All-Holy and offered in commemoration of the Virgin, is placed to the right of the Lamb (that is, on the left side of the paten). Arranged on the other side of the Lamb are particles representing the nine orders of angels around the throne of God which are offered in commemoration of John the Baptist, prophets, apostles, and other holy figures. Below the Lamb are placed particles commemorating the living and the dead. This arrangement is based upon the commemorative prayers of the *Prothesis* (cf. *infra*, note 27), and obviously closely parallels the arrangement of the Deesis, with Christ flanked by the Virgin at his right and John the Baptist at his left, the living donor being placed at his feet. This modern arrangement of the particles is the result of a long development whose stages are often murky, but the particles in honor of the Virgin, saints, and the living and the dead seem to have been added to the Lamb already by the 12th century. For the entire subject of the eucharistic bread and its arrangement, see the excellent study, on which these remarks are based, by G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* (Madison-Milwaukee-London, 1970), especially 65ff., and fig. 35 (drawing of the modern arrangement of the particles).

²¹ K. Weitzmann, "Die byzantinischen Elfenbeine eines Bamberger Graduale und ihre Ursprüngliche Verwendung," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener*, ed. F. Dettweiler, H. Kollner, and P. A. Riedi (Marburg an der Lahn, 1967), 15.

²² *Ibid.*, 16ff., figs. 7 and 8.

²³ Cf. the reconstruction of the sixth-century chancel screen of Hagia Sophia by S. G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *ArtB*, 29 (1947), 11. Xydis' conclusion has been supported by V. Lazarev, "Trois fragments d'épistyles peintes et le templon byzantin," *Δελτ. Χριστ. 'Αρχ. 'Ετ.*, 4,4 (1964-65), volume in honor of G. A. Sotiriou (Athens, 1966), 122, and several Middle Byzantine examples of such epistyles with the Deesis were published in the same number of that journal by M. Chatzidakis, *Εικόνες ἐπιστυλίου ἀπὸ τὸ Ἁγίου Ὅρος*, 377ff. Professor Weitzmann has recently discussed the Justinianic triumphal arch mosaic in the church of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai, as the earliest extant Deesis, although in this case Christ is represented in the form of the Lamb and all three figures are represented as busts within medallions rather than full-length; in his remarks Weitzmann emphasized the liturgical character of the scene; cf. G. H. Forsyth and K. Weitzmann, *The Church and Fortress of Justinian*, plate volume (Ann Arbor, 1973), p. 15.

²⁴ This phenomenon has been described by S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 167. It is also noteworthy that the Deesis scene decorates the headpiece of a liturgical roll (*Benedictio ignis et fontis*) of the Cathedral at Bari, which has been dated to the eleventh century, and which certainly exhibits great reliance on Byzantine models; cf. M. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy*, II (Princeton-London-The Hague, 1936), pl. xii.

²⁵ The examples that survive are generally in late 11th- and 12th-century manuscripts and often reflect the influence of the marginal Psalters. For example, in the Dumbarton Oaks MS 3 the miniature accompanying Psalm 77 is an image of Christ Pantokrator rather than the more typical Moses scene; this "Christological" interpretation first appears in the 9th-century marginal Psalter Pantokrator 61; cf. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript," 173ff. The presence of a Crucifixion

frequency in Psalters not belonging to this group. A Psalter in the Vatican Library, cod. gr. 752, which is dated 1059 by its Easter tables,²⁶ has a Deesis within the headpiece to the first Psalm, with Christ and the intercessors represented by medallion busts rather than in full length.²⁷ This manuscript, whose miniatures are actually based on commentaries rather than on the Psalter text itself, also contains among its prefatory miniatures other illustrations from the liturgical cycle and the great Feasts. Above the author portrait of David there is an image of the enthroned Christ.²⁸ A similar enthroned figure of Christ is contained in the elaborate headpiece to the first Psalm in another Psalter in the Vatican, cod. Barb. gr. 372,²⁹ which belongs to the "monastic" or marginal recension.³⁰

The figure of David is not normally connected with the Deesis,³¹ but his presence in the Harvard Psalter miniature is readily explained. The author portrait is one of the most common types of frontispieces in Byzantine book illumination, and nearly every Psalter has one or more portraits of David as the author of the Psalms. Several of these are full-length standing figures, among which the David in the late eleventh-century Psalter in the Vatican, cod. Barb. gr. 320,³² most closely resembles the figure in the Harvard Psalter.

miniature in the aristocratic psalter in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 336, which is dated to 1077, might also be related to the intended destination of the codex, which was to be presented to the church of St. Gereon in Cologne; cf. P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften. 2, Die Handschriften des X.-XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, vol. VIII, n. f. IV: Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, pt. IV (Leipzig, 1938), 35ff. and pl. xii, figs. 1-6.

²⁶ E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, vol. III, pt. 2: *Vaticanus Graecus 752* (Princeton, 1942), p. xi.

²⁷ Fol. 19r; *ibid.*, 8, pl. xiv. The Deesis within medallions is, of course, reminiscent of the Sinai mosaic; cf. note 23 *supra*. The inclusion of the Archangel Michael in the left-hand medallion may readily be accounted for by the text of the liturgy for the *Proskomide* or *Prothesis*. The establishment of this commemorative list, modeled on that of the *Anaphora*, can be traced to the 11th-12th century, roughly the date of both Vat. gr. 752 and the Harvard Psalter; cf. C. Kucharek, *The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Allendale, N.J., 1971), 279ff. In the text of the *Prothesis* God is asked to receive the sacrifice "in honor and memory" first of the Virgin, then of the angels, then of John the Baptist and other prophets. The list continues with the apostles, fathers, martyrs, and others, and concludes with the living and dead to be remembered. The presence of David in the Vatican miniature is more difficult to explain. He is mentioned by name in some liturgies (cf. *ibid.*, 288 note 4), but only as one of a group of prophets, and not even as the first among them. The most plausible explanation for the appearance of David probably lies with his importance as the author of the Psalms. For the *Prothesis* liturgy, see also R. Engdahl, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der byzantinischen Liturgie* (Berlin, 1908), 141ff.

²⁸ Fols. 17v, 18r, 18v; De Wald, *The Illustration in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III, 2, pp. xiii, 7-8, and pls. xi-xiii. The combination of the Deesis with the Feast cycle also occurs in icons; cf. note 22 *supra*.

²⁹ Fol. 5v, cf. *Il Libro della Bibbia*, catalogue of an Exhibition, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican City, 1972), no. 38, p. 21 and pl. xx.

³⁰ A complete list of the manuscripts of the marginal recension appears in K. Weitzmann, "Die Illustration der Septuaginta," *MünchJb*, 3-4 (1952-53), 108 note 34; repr. and trans. as "The Illustration of the Septuagint," in Weitzmann, *Studies* (see note 13 *supra*), 60 note 35. The manuscripts of the marginal Psalter group generally have a large number of miniatures depicting Christ or New Testament scenes, although these are scattered throughout the manuscript and do not serve as frontispieces. Thus, of the 106 distinct subjects identified by Suzy Dufrenne in the 9th-century Psalter Pantokrator 61, fully 47 deal with events or personages of the New Testament, for the most part having to do directly with Christ; cf. S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, I. *Pantocrator 61*, *Paris grec 20*, *British Museum 40731* (Paris, 1966), 17.

³¹ Cf., however, *supra*, notes 20 and 27.

³² Fol. 1 bis B; cf. Bonicatti, "Un salterio greco" (see note 12 *supra*), pl. xiv, fig. 2.

Another quite similar figure appears in the Berlin Psalter on the verso of the leaf with the Deesis.³³ The Harvard Psalter page represents a conflation of these two separate and unrelated miniatures, a conflation whose awkwardness is most graphically demonstrated by the uncomfortably cramped space on one side allotted to the figure of David. This combination of David with the Deesis cannot be accounted for by reference to the liturgy for a number of reasons. Although David is mentioned in some variants of the *Prothesis* rite, there is no explanation for his being singled out from the other prophets named except for the fact that he is the author of the Psalms. Furthermore, if his presence were due to the influence of the liturgy, David would be placed beside the Baptist instead of beside the Virgin.³⁴ Nor is it plausible that David is included and provided with an open scroll in order to display a Psalm passage related to the Deesis. It is true that after the invocation of the Virgin the *Prothesis* liturgy does contain a verse from Psalm 44:10: "At your right hand stood the Queen dressed in golden vesture adorned with many colors," but this text (a relatively late addition to the liturgy³⁵) does not in fact appear on David's scroll, which is left entirely blank. Certainly it is most unlikely that the text would have been omitted if David has been added to the Deesis miniature for the express purpose of presenting a passage from the Psalms bearing on the interpretation of the subject.

Clearly, then, the standing figure of David is included in the Deesis miniature as an author portrait, and whatever additional significance he may have been given is subordinate to this primary role. Author portraits of David almost invariably³⁶ show him holding a codex, the standard attribute of authors in Middle Byzantine works, whereas in the Harvard Psalter miniature he carries an open roll. Once again, the reason for this departure from normal practice cannot be ascribed to the desire to provide space for a text, since no text is written on the roll, and in any event a fairly lengthy text could have been accommodated also on a codex, as can be seen in the author portrait of the Berlin Psalter.³⁷ The motif of the open roll ordinarily appears in a context

³³ Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter" (note 18 *supra*), figs. 8 and 9.

³⁴ Cf. note 27. That David should be associated with the Baptist rather than the Virgin would be true whether the "model" for the miniature had been the text of the liturgy or the arrangement of the particles of the eucharistic bread; for the latter, cf. *supra*, note 20. The fact that in this miniature David is placed beside the Virgin, thus departing from the order that would be called for by strict adherence to the liturgy, may be explained in part by the analogy with other Byzantine works, in which intercessory figures are placed beside the Virgin as the supreme mediatrix between Christ and mankind. This theory was propounded for a variant of the Deesis in which the place of Christ is filled by the Hodegetria by S. Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP*, 14 (1960), 75-77.

³⁵ Kucharek, *Byzantine-Slav Liturgy*, 285. A Psalm text, 32:6, appears in the 12th century at the end of the Commemoration prayers, when the paten is covered with the *asteriskos*; cf. H.-J. Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie* (Freiburg i. B., 1964), 164.

³⁶ The single exception is the 10th-century Psalter in Oxford, Bodleian Library, cod. Auct. D. IV. 1, fol. 15v; cf. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei* (note 19 *supra*), pl. LXVIII, fig. 405. It should be noted that, unlike the scroll carried by David in the Harvard Psalter, this one has an inscription.

³⁷ Fol. 2v; cf. Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter," 321 and fig. 9. The inscription "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly" is the first verse of Psalm 1, precisely the text one would expect for an author portrait. The text from Psalm 71, written on the open codex held by David

other than an author portrait, and its use here may best be accounted for by reference to this tradition. In the Sinope fragments of the Gospels, from the pre-Iconoclastic period, the Gospel scenes are placed between portraits of two prophets holding unrolled scrolls inscribed with their words.³⁸ One of the "aristocratic" Psalters, Vatopedi 760, folio 19^v, depicts a standing figure of David holding an open scroll (with a verse of Psalm 8) in a miniature of the Entry into Jerusalem.³⁹ The use of prophets holding inscribed scrolls and serving as "witnesses" even occurs in one Deesis image, a Crusader icon on Mt. Sinai which appears to follow a tradition going back at least to the twelfth century.⁴⁰ The artist must certainly have been well acquainted with the appropriate iconographic context and attributes of the standing Prophet with an inscribed roll as a "witness" to Christ, and with the equally strong but wholly independent tradition of the author portrait. Having conflated the author portrait of David and the Deesis, which in his model must have been separate miniatures as they are in the Berlin Psalter, he then sought to mask the awkwardness of the combination by the expedient of providing the author David with an open roll, thereby assimilating the appearance of the figure to the normal Prophet as "witness" type and emphasizing at the same time the prophetic character of the Psalms.

The figure in *proskynesis* at the feet of Christ represents the donor, or possibly the scribe or painter, of the manuscript.⁴¹ Unfortunately, the torso of the figure has entirely disappeared, leaving only the head, hands, and feet visible. Barely enough now remains to suggest that the donor was not dressed in ecclesiastical or imperial costume. In illuminated manuscripts the donor is most frequently shown in the act of presenting the book to a patron, as do

in the Paris Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 139), has recently been explained as a specific reference to the future rule of Romanus II; cf. H. Buchthal, "The Exaltation of David," *JWarb*, 37 (1974), 330–33. Professor Buchthal's conclusions provide an interesting example (albeit in some measure antithetical to that of the Harvard Psalter) of the adaptation of the conventional author portrait of David to different circumstances.

³⁸ For example, the Prophets Moses and David on fol. 10^v, and the Feast of Herod; cf. A. Grabar, *Les peintures de l'Evangéliaire de Sinope* (Paris, 1948), 11 and pl. 1.

³⁹ K. Weitzmann, "Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 19 (1960), 105 and fig. 3.

⁴⁰ Cf. C. Walter, "Further Notes on the Deesis," *REB*, 28 (1970), 169–71 and fig. 1. Walter cites the 12th-century Gospel book of the Patriarchal Library in Constantinople (cf. *supra*, note 19) as an earlier example of this type. The Royal Prayer Book of Otto III in Pommersfelden may reflect a much earlier Byzantine example; cf. *infra*, note 47. In an earlier Note, which also provides an analysis of the use of the term in the Byzantine period, the same author suggests that in images with a donor in *proskynesis* the scroll carried by the holy intercessor may represent the actual "petition" presented to Christ on the donor's behalf; the 12th-century mosaic of George of Antioch in the Martorana at Palermo is perhaps the best-known example of this type; cf. *idem*, "Two Notes on the Deesis," *REB*, 26 (1968), 320. Such images suggest the possibility that David's open scroll may be a reference to this type of intercessory petition, but since prophets are normally witnesses rather than intercessors and the scroll is not inscribed with any entreaty, the interpretation of this composition as an approximation of the "witness" type seems more likely.

⁴¹ The possibility that such a figure may represent the artist or the scribe was suggested by Omont for the tiny figure at the feet of the Emperor in the manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. Coislin 79, fol. 2^v; H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), 34 and pl. LXIV. Of course, these alternatives are not necessarily mutually exclusive; the donor in the Melbourne Gospels is specifically described as the scribe and painter as well as the donor; cf. Buchthal, "An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book" (*supra*, note 14), 1.

Leo the Patrician in the great Bible in the Vatican, cod. gr. 1,⁴² the monk Theophano in the Melbourne Gospels,⁴³ or Alexius I Comnenus in the Vatican cod. gr. 666.⁴⁴ In these examples the donor stands before a holy figure who accepts the gift, and the two seem almost to address each other; but in the Harvard Psalter the tiny donor prostrates himself before a group that is totally unaware of his existence. Compositions of this type are uncommon in manuscripts but occur at an early date in other media. An eighth- or ninth-century icon on Mt. Sinai presents a diminutive donor in *proskynesis* at the feet of the large frontal figure of St. Irene,⁴⁵ and an ivory in Berlin from the second half of the tenth century depicts a small figure, dressed as a bishop and holding a book, in *proskynesis* before a Crucifixion group.⁴⁶ Although rare, some other manuscripts portray the donor or scribe similarly intruding upon a scene and completely ignored by the main figures.⁴⁷ One example is found on a single leaf in the Princeton Theological Seminary, essentially a large ornamental Cross page, but with the additional elements of a bust of Christ surmounting the Cross and a full-length portrait of the scribe at the left.⁴⁸ The Basil manuscript in Copenhagen provides a closer comparison to the Harvard

⁴² Fol. 2v; cf. J. Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine* (Paris-Brussels, 1926), pl. xxvii. In a recent article, Cyril Mango has convincingly argued that the manuscript should be dated in the 940's rather than near the beginning of the 10th century; cf. C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance,'" *Acta IRNorv*, 4 (1969), 121 ff.

⁴³ Buchthal, "An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book," illustration on cover.

⁴⁴ M. Bonicatti, "Per una introduzione alla cultura mediobizantina di Costantinopoli," *RIASA*, N.S., 9 (1960), 207 ff. and color plate.

⁴⁵ G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai* (Athens, 1958), I, fig. 32.

⁴⁶ A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II (Berlin, 1934), no. 102. Another ivory, in Munich, shows a figure in *proskynesis* before the Hodegetria; *ibid.*, no. 86. The existence of these and other prototypes for the arrangement seen in the Harvard Psalter strongly militates against the otherwise intriguing possibility that the placement of the donor at Christ's feet could be related to the arrangement of the particles of the eucharistic bread offered for the living and the dead under the Lamb; cf. *supra*, note 20.

⁴⁷ The Ottonian Royal Prayer Book in Pommersfelden contains an interesting miniature, which is divided into two registers, the upper showing the Deesis and the lower St. Peter and St. Paul flanking a praying youth, who has been identified as the younger Emperor Otto III. The dependence of this and the other miniatures of the Pommersfelden codex on Byzantine models is obvious and raises the possibility that the combination of the Deesis with a donor portrait in the Harvard Psalter may reflect a 10th-century Byzantine model or tradition. Cf. P. E. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* (Munich, 1962), 147 and pl. 80, and C. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting* (Skira, 1957), 210. The manuscript was formerly assigned to the period of Henry IV by J. Prochno, *Das Schreiber- und Dedikationsbild in der deutschen Buchmalerei* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1929), 42-43. The combination of the Deesis with a donor figure must have existed in Byzantine manuscripts by the eleventh century, for the composition of the headpiece of the Bari Benedictional Roll, which provides one of the closest comparisons to the Harvard Psalter miniature, certainly depends upon a Byzantine prototype; cf. Avery, *The Exultet Rolls* (*supra*, note 24), pl. xii.

⁴⁸ The Harvard Psalter provides the closest comparisons in ornament and figure style to this Princeton leaf. It has recently been suggested that this page may actually represent a conflation of two originally separate miniatures, a monumental Cross page and a typical miniature of the donor presenting his book to Christ; cf. Vikar, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (see *supra*, note 7), 115 and fig. 45. It is also possible, however, that the different elements of this miniature actually belong together; the Cross surmounted by a bust of Christ is a common theme in the Early Christian ampullae from the Holy Land (cf. A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* [Paris, 1958], 55 ff., pl. xviii), and also appears in the 7th-century mosaic in S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome, where it is flanked by the full-length standing figures of St. Primus and St. Felicianus; cf. J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 67 and fig. 126; and M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IV^e au X^e siècle* (Geneva, 1924), 205-6 and figs. 259 and 261.

Psalter miniature, since it also portrays the donor in *proskynesis* before the recipient of the gift.⁴⁹

The setting of the scene within an elaborate architectural frame, although not uncommon in twelfth-century Byzantine illumination,⁵⁰ is unusual for representations of the Deesis—with the exception of the rather simple arch on columns in a Gospel book in Florence,⁵¹ Deesis miniatures are ordinarily set in very simple frames devoid of architectural elements, as the Berlin Psalter miniature. Although the apparent infrequency of this combination may be merely the result of the small number of surviving examples, it is nevertheless suggestive that in the many ivories with representations of the Deesis the utilization of such a frame is a rather more frequent occurrence.⁵² While it is true that the ornate frames used by ivory carvers are themselves ultimately derived from models in miniature painting, during the tenth and eleventh centuries these frames appear to have become a common feature of Deesis ivories, and their example could have suggested the use of such a frame in the Deesis miniature of the Harvard Psalter, perhaps as a means of further underlining the connection of the miniature with liturgical objects. However, it seems much more likely that this type of frame was simply a standard element of the vocabulary of the workshop, since almost identical architectural frames are used for the Evangelist portraits of the Megaspelaion cod. 8 (figs. 10 and 12), which appears to be a product of the same scriptorium as the Harvard Psalter (cf. also *infra*). One might also point out in this regard that the small flowers on long curving stems which flank the columns on the page of the Harvard Psalter Deesis are exactly parallel, in the same position as those in the miniatures of the Megaspelaion codex.

Folio 9r Although the ornamental headpiece to the first Psalm (fig. 2) contains no figures, it nevertheless provides some of the clearest evidence for the close connection of the Harvard Psalter with a *Praxapostolos* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, cod. suppl. gr. 1262, and with the Gospel book at Megaspelaion, cod. 8. The unusual feature of two concentric circular tendrils with a palmette in the center is found in both the Harvard Psalter and Paris. 1262, folio 35r (fig. 7).⁵³ The large flowers mounted on triangular

⁴⁹ Copenhagen, Gl. Kongl. Saml. 1343, fol. 1r (cf. *supra*, note 16).

⁵⁰ From the earliest period these frames are most commonly used for canon tables and evangelist portraits (for example, the portrait of Mark in the pre-Iconoclastic Rossano Gospels; cf. A. Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano* [Rome, 1907], pl. xv), but can also appear with other scenes (as in the Virgin and Child miniature of the Rabbula Gospels; cf. C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani, and M. Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels* [Olten-Lausanne, 1959], fol. 1b), and by the 12th century may even be used to frame a scene with an extensive landscape background (as in the Codex Ebnerianus in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, cod. Auct. T. inf. I. 10, fol. 16v; cf. W. F. Volbach and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christlichen Osten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, III [Berlin, 1968], fig. 62).

⁵¹ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Conv. soppr. 160; cf. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 2 note 8 (photograph in the Princeton Index of Christian Art at Dumbarton Oaks).

⁵² Roughly one-third of the Deesis ivories have such a frame; cf. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, nos. 7, 69, 96, 153, 154, and 235.

⁵³ J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London-New York, 1961), 114 and fig. 164; also *Byzance et la France médiévale. Manuscrits à peintures du II^e au XVI^e siècle*, Catalogue of an Exhibition,

bases at the upper left and right corners of the Harvard Psalter headpiece are a common feature in manuscripts of this period. But here the lateral ends of the bases burst into smaller flowers, a detail quite rare, which is found also in the Paris. 1262, folio 35^r, and in Megaspelaion 8, folio 6^v (fig. 10). It can also be observed that the execution of the ornament in the Paris and Megaspelaion codices is very similar to that found in the Harvard Psalter, with its rather careless painting and roughness of the details. Taken in conjunction with other closely comparable features mentioned previously, these similarities in ornament warrant the suggestion that the Harvard Psalter, Megaspelaion cod. 8, and Paris. suppl. gr. 1262 are all products of a single scriptorium. Another manuscript which may be connected with these three is the Copenhagen Basil codex,⁵⁴ which has the same concentric circular tendrils in its ornament as well as a similar elongated and simplified figure style; but this last manuscript appears to be of somewhat higher quality and cannot with equal assurance be attributed to the same scriptorium.

Folio 113^r At the center of the rather small ornamental headpiece to Psalm 17 the field is enlarged to contain a very small scene (fig. 3). Illustrating the opening verse of the Psalm, "Give heed, O my people, to my Law," the scene depicts at the right Moses, dressed in a light blue tunic and red mantle, presenting the Tablets of the Law to a group of Israelites at the left, who are much smaller in scale. At the top of the miniature appears the Hand of God. The "style *mignon*" figures are similar, stylistically, to those on the Feast page of the Megaspelaion cod. 8 (fig. 11). The scene is the normal one illustrating Psalm 77 in the aristocratic Psalters,⁵⁵ but in most cases the episode is shown in two stages, Moses receiving the Law on the mountain from the Hand of God, and Moses presenting it to the Israelites. Here, the small space would not accommodate both episodes, and only the latter is shown. The artist has, however, included the Hand of God from the preceding scene; so the miniature is actually a conflation of the two scenes rather than a depiction of only the second.⁵⁶ Clearly the painter was forced to condense a more extensive model similar to that found in other aristocratic Psalter manuscripts.

Within a small medallion attached to the initial Π, which begins the text, is a bust of a man with long white hair and beard, wearing a pale blue tunic. This is certainly the portrait of the author of this Psalm, Asaph, although there is no identifying inscription.⁵⁷ Asaph is found in the ninth-century

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1958), no. 33. I would like to thank Mlle Concasty, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, who made it possible for me to examine this manuscript. The same type of ornament also appears in the frontispiece miniature of Copenhagen 1343, although there the color scheme is different (blues predominate) and the execution is much finer and more precise (cf. *supra*, note 16).

⁵⁴ Cf. *supra*, note 16.

⁵⁵ Cf. Berlin 3807, fol. 118^v; Marciana 565, fol. 191^v; Vat. gr. 342, fol. 133^v; and Vat. Barb. gr. 320, fol. 112^r.

⁵⁶ Vat. Barb. gr. 320 shows only the presentation of the Law, but the space is quite ample and yet the Hand of God is not included.

⁵⁷ The title of the Psalm, however, reads Συνέσεως τῷ Ἀσάφ, and is adjacent to the portrait.

marginal Psalter Pantokrator 61⁵⁸ and in four other manuscripts,⁵⁹ but not in the aristocratic Psalter group. Only in the Harvard Psalter does he appear *en buste* within a medallion.⁶⁰ But this type of decoration, with a medallion author portrait attached to the bottom left corner of a small headpiece, is very common in Paris. suppl. gr. 1262, which has fifteen such portraits, all representing the author of the text which immediately follows (for example, the portrait of Peter on folio 141^r; fig. 8). This particular type of author portrait provides further evidence that the two manuscripts originated within the same workshop. The presence of the Asaph portrait in the Harvard Psalter also suggests some influence of the marginal Psalters on manuscripts of the aristocratic recension, a phenomenon which Miss Der Nersessian has described at some length.⁶¹

Folio 215^v The full-page miniature following the text of the supplementary Psalm 151, which ends on the recto of the folio,⁶² illustrates in two registers (fig. 4) verses 6–7 of that Psalm: "I went forth to meet the Philistine; and he cursed me by his idols. But I drew his own sword, and beheaded him." Enclosed within a very simple frame the miniature shows, above, the battle of David and Goliath and, below, David beheading his fallen enemy. David has a golden nimbus and is dressed in a short, light blue tunic; he does not have a mantle, but in the battle scene a piece of cloth is draped over his raised left hand. The figure of Goliath, now severely flaked, wears in both scenes elaborately rendered dark-gold armor and a mantle which billows out behind him, and is equipped with a lance and a small circular shield. The figures are set against a very simplified mountainous landscape, painted on blank parchment instead of against a gold ground.

This miniature is not exceptional either in its position in the manuscript or in the details of its iconography. A similar full-page miniature appears after Psalm 151 in a number of aristocratic Psalters.⁶³ Of all these, the Oxford, Bodleian cod. Barocci 15, also dated 1105 but stylistically rather distinctive,

⁵⁸ Fol. 102^r; cf. Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, I (*supra*, note 30), pl. 13. Here Asaph, with an identifying inscription, appears as a younger man and musician with an enormous horn.

⁵⁹ London, Add. 19352, fol. 100^r; Jerusalem, Taphou 53, fols. 104^r and 118^v; Athens, Benaki Museum 34 #7, fol. 147^v; Vat. gr. 752, fol. 241^v.

⁶⁰ In London 19352 he is shown at the bottom of the page enthroned between two groups of Israelites and holding the book of the Law; cf. S. Der Nersessian, *Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, II, *Londres, Add. 19352* (Paris, 1970), 40, fig. 163. In Benaki Museum 34 #7 he is shown half-length, within a rectangular frame and holding a scroll; in Taphou 53 he is actually depicted twice: on fol. 104^r, in a small square-framed miniature, kneeling and praying, and on fol. 118^v (here at the beginning of Psalm 79) seated and writing, with an open scroll on the desk before him, very much in the style of an evangelist portrait (photographs of both of these manuscripts at Princeton). Asaph appears many times in Vat. gr. 752: on fol. 241^v (beginning of Psalm 77) he is seated and addresses three young men; cf. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III,2 (*supra*, note 26), 28, pl. xxxviii. In all of these manuscripts, Asaph has long white hair and beard as in the Harvard Psalter miniature.

⁶¹ Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript," 175 ff.

⁶² Since the text on the recto of the folio is written in the same hand and ink as the rest of the manuscript, this folio cannot be a later insertion.

⁶³ Dumbarton Oaks MS 3, fol. 71^r; Berlin 3807, fol. 231^r; Oxford, Barocci 15, fol. 343^r.

provides the closest comparison.⁶⁴ The Harvard manuscript differs in only two details from this and most other versions of the two scenes. The lack of a mantle for David is probably an oversight or misunderstanding of the artist—the cloth draped over the left hand in the battle scene shows that the model probably did have this feature.⁶⁵ The other unusual feature is the posture of David's body—unlike most other examples⁶⁶ he is shown here striding forward as if in the act of hurling the stones in his sling, rather than leaning backward in readiness to throw. In the Coptic frescoes at Bawit David is depicted in this position,⁶⁷ but this is not enough to warrant the suggestion that the Harvard Psalter may follow a very ancient model or one of more "oriental" origin. For the typical mid-Byzantine iconography appears as early as the Cyprus silver plate in the Metropolitan Museum⁶⁸ as well as in the manuscript Vat. gr. 333⁶⁹—the only surviving illustrated Book of Kings—which must preserve a good version of the iconography from which the scene in the aristocratic Psalters was originally derived.⁷⁰ Thus, this feature should be understood as a modification, or even a mistake in copying, made by the painter of the Harvard Psalter: the peculiar transformation of David's mantle into what appears to be a large handkerchief in this miniature is clear evidence that the artist could and did make such alterations.

Folio 216^v A full-page miniature (fig. 5) faces the opening lines of the first Ode of Moses (Exodus 15:1–19) on the opposite page. This Ode deals with the Crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites and the destruction of Pharaoh and his army. The miniature, unfortunately in ruinous condition, illustrates this text. Barely visible, but still identifiable, on the left within the large central circle, the tall figure of Moses is shown striding toward the right, with a crowd of Israelites preceding him; the group includes at the center a man with a cape billowing around his shoulders and at the right a woman pulling a small child along with her right hand. At the bottom of the miniature the Egyptians are shown drowning in the Red Sea, and at the top is depicted the pillar

⁶⁴ Photograph in the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.

⁶⁵ Only one other manuscript known to me has this "handkerchief" feature, the Psalter and New Testament manuscript in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Plut. VI. 36, fol. 347^r, which dates from the 12th century; cf. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, 252 note 51 (photographs of this manuscript also at Princeton).

⁶⁶ The exception is again Florence, Plut. VI. 36, fol. 347^r. Also the 13th-century copy of the Paris Psalter, Leningrad 274 (which is a fragment of Sinai 38) shows in the battle scene David leaning toward Goliath, although in other respects this miniature is quite different. The New Testament and Psalter manuscript in Paris, suppl. gr. 1335, fol. 325^r, also from the 13th century, shows this feature in a miniature rather closer to that of the Harvard Psalter. Some of the western examples of this scene show this feature; cf. P. Clemen, *Die Romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden* (Düsseldorf, 1910), 156 ff.

⁶⁷ H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), fig. 31. Also J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, MémInstCaire, XII (Cairo, 1904), pl. xviii.

⁶⁸ Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, fig. 44.

⁶⁹ J. Lassus, "Les miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois," *Mélanges*, 45 (1928), 38 ff.

⁷⁰ K. Weitzmann, *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 107 (Cologne-Opladen, 1963), 12 ff., fig. 4; repr. and trans. as "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," in Weitzmann, *Studies* (note 13 *supra*), 182 ff., figs. 164, 165.

of fire which guided the Israelites (Exodus 13:21–22). As is the case with the preceding scenes of David and Goliath, the miniature is painted on a folio which is an integral part of the codex and not a later insertion,⁷¹ and the miniature itself has nothing remarkable either in its position or in its iconographic details.⁷²

The frame, however, is quite unusual, taking the form of a quatrefoil although actually constructed from only three intersecting circles. In its present form it consists of a large circle interrupted by slightly smaller semicircles which extend the field at top and bottom; four much smaller roundels with purely ornamental decoration are attached to the semicircles. A similar arrangement is often used as a frame for a text,⁷³ but only very infrequently for a full-page miniature.⁷⁴ Such a frame is used, however, in a Psalter in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, cod. gr. 565, folio 191^v, for the scene of Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law,⁷⁵ and this also has four ornamental roundels at the top and bottom. However, in the Venice manuscript the entire quatrefoil frame is enclosed within a larger rectangle containing floral ornament and is composed of four circles instead of three. An unusual miniature of the Megaspelaion cod. 8, folio 130^r (fig. 11), in which four Feast pictures are set in small full circles arranged in a quatrefoil pattern and surrounded by four smaller roundels containing ornament, is also reminiscent of the Harvard Psalter miniature.

The present design of the page is not, however, that which was initially envisaged. The original arrangement is still just discernible beneath the severely rubbed paint of the miniature as it is now. The two large semicircles at the top and bottom of the present frame were originally drawn as full circles, their borders completely painted, with the gilding extending beyond what is now visible. Two smaller ornamented roundels, similar to the four now at the

⁷¹ The extremely tight binding makes it difficult to be absolutely certain, but this folio appears to be from the same sheet of parchment as that with the David and Goliath miniature. It seems that a new quire begins with fol. 217^r (a regular quaternion), and the previous complete one ends with fol. 213^v. The three leaves 214, 215, and 216 are separate; the binding string lies between 215 and 216, and a strip of parchment between 216 and 217 is probably attached to 214. Thus the end of the Psalter text and the two miniatures appear on a binio, and the regular quaternions begin again with the Odes on fol. 217. Finally, fol. 216 has the same texture and color as the adjacent leaves and certainly does not appear to be an insertion.

⁷² Cf. Berlin 3807, fol. 231^v; Vat. gr. 342, fol. 246^v; Oxford, Barocci 15, fol. 343^v; Florence, Plut. VI. 36, fol. 348^v (here, a rather different iconography); Dumbarton Oaks MS 3, fol. 72^r. Actually, the placement of Moses at the far left rather than at the center of the group of Israelites reflects more accurately the presumed archetype. Cf. discussion of this point in Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, 31, and in J. Lassus, "Quelques représentations du 'Passage de la Mer Rouge' dans l'art chrétien d'Orient et d'Occident," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, 46 (1929), 159ff. Another important early example of the scene also shows Moses at the far left of the Israelites; cf. A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina* (Vatican City, 1960), 81 and pl. 115.

⁷³ For example, Patmos Cod. 33, fol. 8^r (from the 10th century; cf. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, fig. 560). Also Oxford, Barocci 230, fol. 1^v (O. Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination* [Oxford, 1952], fig. 1).

⁷⁴ Similar frames are, however, quite commonly used for miniatures set in small headpieces; cf. examples in Paris. gr. 550, fols. 3^v and 279^r, and Sinai 339, fol. 91^r (both published in G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* [Princeton, 1969], figs. 384, 398, and 427).

⁷⁵ Bonicatti, "Un salterio greco" (note 12 *supra*), pl. v, fig. 1.

top and bottom, were painted at the juncture of the two large circles, placed tangentially to them at either side; the single large circle that dominates the arrangement as we see it at present was altogether absent. The original format, then, consisted of two large circles undoubtedly destined to contain figural compositions, surrounded by six smaller ones containing ornament. The span of time between the original design and its subsequent modification, made to provide a single larger pictorial field, cannot be definitely ascertained, but since no trace of any earlier painting is visible underneath the present miniature it seems most likely that the alteration of the format was effected before the manuscript had left the workshop.⁷⁶ In this regard, it is indeed unfortunate that the present miniature of the Crossing of the Red Sea is so badly damaged that no date can be assigned to it on the basis of its style. The miniature does not appear to be closely related to the others in the manuscript, for the pigmentation is rather different, with duller, more grayish tones, particularly in the blues. The ornament in the four small roundels is also unlike anything else in the Harvard Psalter, but since almost identical ornament appears in a headpiece in the Vatican Psalter, cod. gr. 342, folio 134^r (fig. 13), which has been dated around the year 1100,⁷⁷ it would seem that our miniature was painted at a date very near the rest of the manuscript, at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.

Folio 217^r The narrow band of ornament (fig. 6) which serves as the headpiece to the first Ode of Moses is interrupted in the center by a simple medallion-like space, which contains a half-length portrait of the author. The same type of ornament that fills the horizontal portions of this headpiece, a lozenge pattern with very small interspersed floral forms, occurs in both the manuscripts which I have assigned to the scriptorium that produced the Harvard Psalter, on the John page of Megaspelaion 8, folio 208^v (fig. 12), and in the headpiece to the Epistle of Peter of the Paris. suppl. gr. 1262, folio 141^r (fig. 8; also, in a variant form, on folio 35^r [fig. 7] and folio 381^r).⁷⁸ Moses is depicted as a young man, beardless and with short dark brown hair, clad in a light blue tunic and with a dull pinkish mantle over his left shoulder, and is placed

⁷⁶ Since the miniature on this page must always have faced the opening of the first Cantic of Moses (cf. *supra*, note 72), one is led to speculate on the scenes planned for the two large roundels of the original format. Although other scenes (Moses Praying, the Dance of Miriam) illustrate this Ode in the marginal Psalters, the aristocratic recension typically has the Crossing of the Red Sea in this position. This episode is particularly ill-suited for division into two distinct scenes, yet it seems possible that the artist, through a misunderstanding of his model, may have originally intended to divide it horizontally. In Berlin 3807, fol. 231^v (Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter" [note 18 *supra*], fig. 14), and in Oxford, Barocci 15, fol. 343^v (Pächt, *Byzantine Illumination*, no. 20), both from the early 12th century, the shore of the Red Sea is used to make what appears to be a neat division of the miniature into two registers, much like the division of the two David and Goliath scenes in the same manuscripts. The artist of the Harvard Psalter may have interpreted the two registers of a similar model as distinct scenes and planned to insert one in each of the two large roundels of his elaborate page. Later, realizing his error (or having had it called to his attention), he may have been forced to link the two frames and create a single, unified miniature.

⁷⁷ Bonicatti, "Un salterio greco," 123ff.

⁷⁸ This motif is also present in the Psalter in the Vatican, cod. gr. 342, fol. 246^v; cf. *ibid.*, pl. VIII, fig. 1.

against a simple gold ground. The small portrait bust of Peter on folio 141^r of Paris. suppl. gr. 1262 (fig. 8) has the same small dark eyes and a similar treatment of the mouth and hands, although the Paris figure has a slightly more extensive range of tone. Similar portraits of prophets, normally set within circular medallions, are not uncommon, and appear for example in the late tenth-century manuscript of the Prophets in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale B.I.2.⁷⁹ The placing of the Moses portrait in this headpiece is unusual but more satisfactory than the typical formula seen in the portrait of Asaph on folio 113^r of our manuscript (fig. 3) and in the many ornamental bands with attached medallion portraits in the *Praxapostolos* in Paris. suppl. gr. 1262 (fig. 8). This Paris manuscript does indeed have one miniature in which the author portrait is set within the ornamental headpiece, a portrait of Paul on folio 184^v (fig. 9), but this is on a much larger scale than the comparable Moses of the Harvard Psalter.

CONCLUSION

J. J. Tikkanen long ago divided illuminated Byzantine Psalter manuscripts into two recensions, those of the "aristocratic" recension, having several frontispiece miniatures chiefly devoted to the life of David, and those of the "monastic" or "marginal" recension, having a large number of small unframed miniatures set in the margins and for the most part closely connected with the adjacent text.⁸⁰ This distinction has been quite generally utilized, if not always wholeheartedly accepted, and it runs through much of the argument of this paper. Within this bi-polar division the Harvard Psalter certainly belongs with the manuscripts of the "aristocratic" group. Several of its miniatures are frontispieces, which can be linked at many points by their iconography and their position within the manuscript to the aristocratic recension.

But what is the exact place of the Harvard manuscript within the aristocratic Psalter recension? Of course, a complete answer to this question must await a full study of all the Psalters of this group and the establishment of a reliable stemma, but a few possibilities may be appropriately suggested here. The nearest relative of the Harvard Psalter, in terms of its cycle of illustrations taken as a whole, is certainly the Psalter in Berlin, no. 3807.⁸¹ This manuscript contains all the miniatures of the Harvard Psalter in roughly similar form and position, and alone among aristocratic Psalters it, too, has a full-page frontispiece depicting the Deesis.⁸² The Berlin Psalter does have two additional miniatures and varies somewhat in format (e.g., the scene of Moses with the Tablets of the Law in the Berlin Psalter occupies an entire page instead of being set within a small headpiece),⁸³ style, and iconographic detail; yet the close relationship of the two manuscripts is undeniable.

⁷⁹ Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 28, fig. 210.

⁸⁰ J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, I (Helsinki, 1895), 112ff.

⁸¹ Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter," *passim*.

⁷² Fol. 2^r; cf. *ibid.*, 321, fig. 8.

⁸³ Fol. 118^v; cf. *ibid.*, pl. 322, fig. 11.

Generally speaking, the Harvard Psalter belongs to a group of late eleventh- and twelfth-century Psalters characterized by a diminishing emphasis on the David scenes and an increasing number of more "Christological" miniatures⁸⁴ if compared to the chief monument of the aristocratic recension, the tenth-century Paris Psalter, cod. gr. 139. Yet, although belonging to this later group, it displays several details which might indicate that its model retained some relatively archaic features. These revealing elements are: 1. in the battle scene the forward-striding posture of David and his lack of a mantle, as in the frescoes of Bawît;⁸⁵ 2. in the Deesis miniature David's attribute of a scroll instead of a codex, as in the tenth-century Psalter at Oxford, Bodleian cod. Auct. D. IV. 1;⁸⁶ and finally, 3. in the miniature of the Crossing of the Red Sea^{86a} the location of Moses. Of course, my interpretation of these features, as given above, runs along quite different lines (for example, David's attribute of a scroll rather than a codex is, in my view, not a chance archaism but a deliberate and meaningful variation from contemporary practice); but the suggestion of a relatively archaic model cannot at this point be absolutely rejected.

There are also two indications that the miniature cycle of the Harvard Psalter was condensed from a more extensive model. The first is, of course, the conflation of the author portrait of David with the Deesis—the model must have had these two miniatures on separate pages, as found in the Berlin Psalter.⁸⁷ The second is the conflation of two scenes as well as the reduction in scale of Moses with the Tablets from a full-page miniature to a small scene set within an ornamental headpiece; here, again, the arrangement in the model must have been similar to that in the Berlin Psalter, folio 118^v. Most likely, these changes were made chiefly for the sake of economy, although the Moses scene with a few tiny figures may also indicate the influence of the marginal Psalters.⁸⁸

Indeed, several features of the Harvard Psalter suggest the possibility of a connection with the marginal Psalters. This is scarcely surprising, since the evident revision of the original aristocratic Psalter recension that occurred

⁸⁴ Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript," 175 ff.

⁸⁵ Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, fig. 31. Also Clédât, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît* (*supra*, note 67).

⁸⁶ Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, 63 and fig. 405. The combination of the Deesis with a donor portrait is found in the Ottonian Royal Prayer Book at Pommersfelden (cf. *supra*, note 47), which certainly depends in large part on 10th-century Byzantine models; but the addition of the donor is almost certainly *ad hoc* rather than a reflection of an early model.

^{86a} Cf. note 76 *supra*.

⁸⁷ Fols. 2^r and 2^v. Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter," 321, figs. 8 and 9 (cf. *supra*, note 33). As well as maintaining the Deesis and David on separate pages, the miniature cycle of the Berlin Psalter contains several miniatures (monumental Cross, and Virgin and Child with Saints; cf. Stuhlfauth, *op. cit.*, figs. 6 and 7) that are altogether absent from the Harvard Psalter, which strengthens the impression that the latter represents a condensed version of a more extensive model. Like the Deesis, these additional prefatory miniatures are also intimately related to the rite of the *prothesis* or *proskomide*; cf. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript," 167 and figs. 1 and 2, and *idem*, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection" (*supra*, note 34), 75–77.

⁸⁸ For example, there is an illustration in the Psalter in London, British Museum, cod. Add. 19352, fol. 183^v, in which Moses presents the Tablets to a small group of Israelites as in the Harvard Psalter. Cf. Der Nersessian, *Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, II, fig. 304. However, it must be noted that this miniature illustrates the second Ode of Moses rather than Psalm 77 as in the Harvard manuscript.

in the course of the eleventh century must have taken place, at least in part, under the influence of the marginal Psalters, as Miss Der Nersessian has convincingly demonstrated.⁸⁹ Yet, it would be oversimplifying the situation to see the influence working only in one direction. The late tenth- or early eleventh-century marginal Psalter in the British Museum, cod. Add. 40831, known as the Bristol Psalter, contains two full-page miniatures. One of these, which serves as frontispiece to the manuscript, depicts David enthroned and surrounded by his musicians,⁹⁰ a scene which is also found in a number of aristocratic Psalters, for example in Vatopedi 761.⁹¹ The Bristol Psalter also contains a large number of scenes clearly derived from an aristocratic Psalter model similar to the Paris Psalter, cod. gr. 139.⁹² And although not strictly a "marginal" Psalter, the unusual manuscript in the Vatican, cod. gr. 752, not only has small scenes scattered throughout the text as in the "marginal" group, but also contains a number of prefatory miniatures which include a full-page author portrait of David with musicians, a cycle of the life of David, and a series of twelve Feast pictures.⁹³

The gradual transformation of Byzantine Psalter iconography is not an isolated phenomenon but rather a part of a general trend in Byzantine art of the eleventh century toward a stronger emphasis on the connection of art and the liturgy.⁹⁴ For example, Weitzmann has demonstrated the increasing independence of the miniature cycle of the lectionary, the primary liturgical book, from its Gospel manuscript models, as well as the retroactive influence of the new lectionary cycle on the narrative Gospel miniatures.⁹⁵ Within the field of Psalter illustration, a leaf from a liturgical Psalter manuscript now in the Art Museum at Princeton University, with a full-page miniature depicting the Crucifixion and the Anastasis, both from the liturgical Feast cycle, served as frontispiece to the ninth Psalm.⁹⁶ Weitzmann explains this scene not as "an occasional borrowing of pictures from one type of book to another, but rather as the expression of a trend which makes everything connected with the liturgy the dominating force in Byzantine art."⁹⁷ The most remarkable feature of the Harvard Psalter, the Deesis miniature, is clearly a product of this development, and places the manuscript in the mainstream of Byzantine art in this period.

Fogg Art Museum
Harvard University

⁸⁹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 212, 218, and note 61.

⁹⁰ Fol. 7v; cf. Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, I, pl. 47. The other miniature, facing Psalm 77, presents an enthroned Christ preaching; *ibid.*, pl. 54.

⁹¹ Fol. 141v; cf. K. Weitzmann, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761," *JWalt*, 10 (1947), 26 and fig. 10. Here also a list (p. 26 note 15) of other manuscripts containing this; e.g., Vat. gr. 342, fol. 23v, and British Museum, cod. Add. 36928, fol. 46v.

⁹² Cf. Dufrenne, *Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, I, 50.

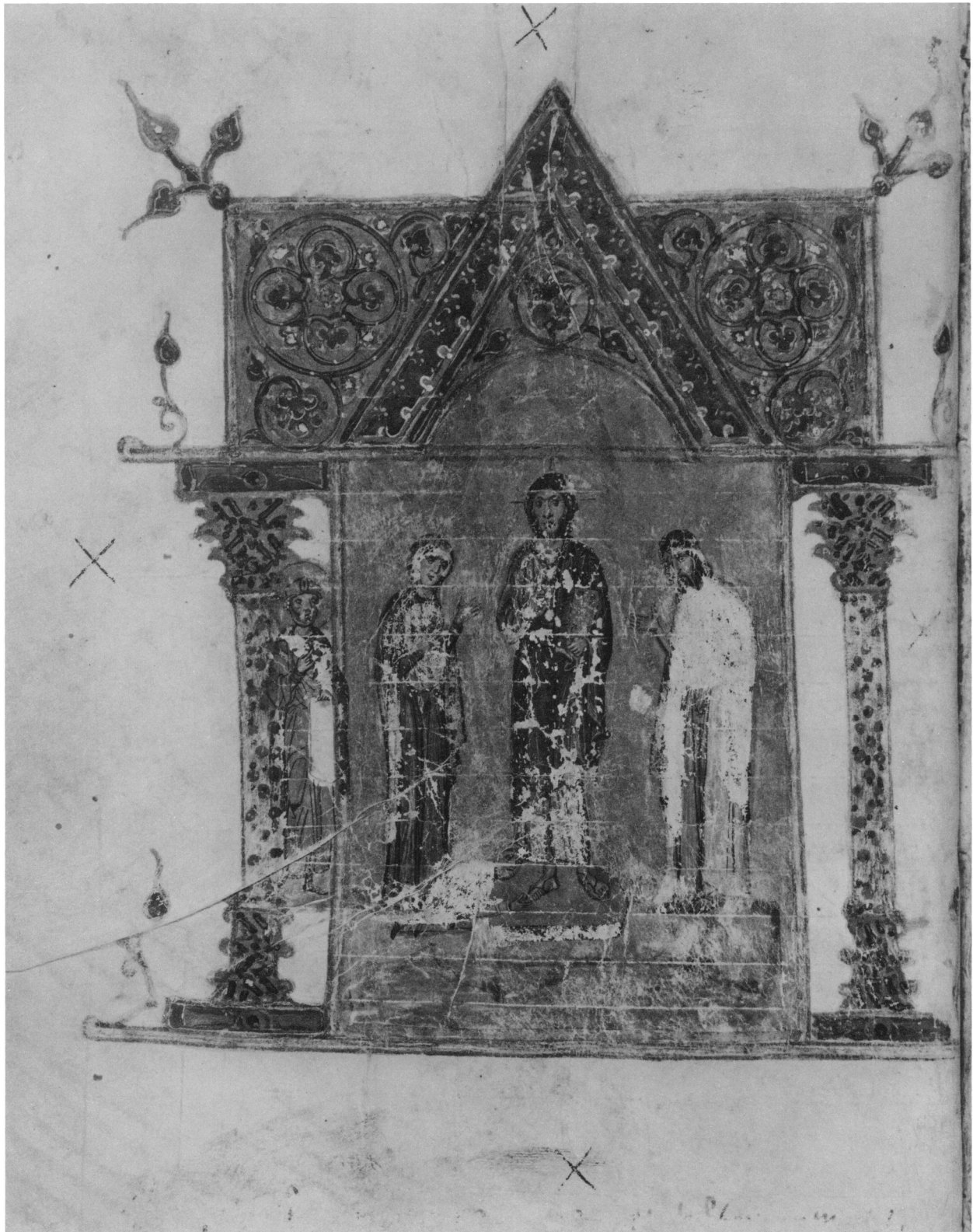
⁹³ De Wald, *The Illustration in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III,2 (*supra*, note 26), pls. I-IV and XI-XIII.

⁹⁴ Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century" (*supra*, note 13).

⁹⁵ *Idem*, "The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations," *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, ed. M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren (Chicago, 1950), 151ff.; reprinted in Weitzmann, *Studies*, 247ff.

⁹⁶ *Idem*, "Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary" (*supra*, note 39), 98ff., fig. 1. Cf. also *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections* (*supra*, note 7), 124-25 and fig. 53.

⁹⁷ Weitzmann, "Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary," 107.



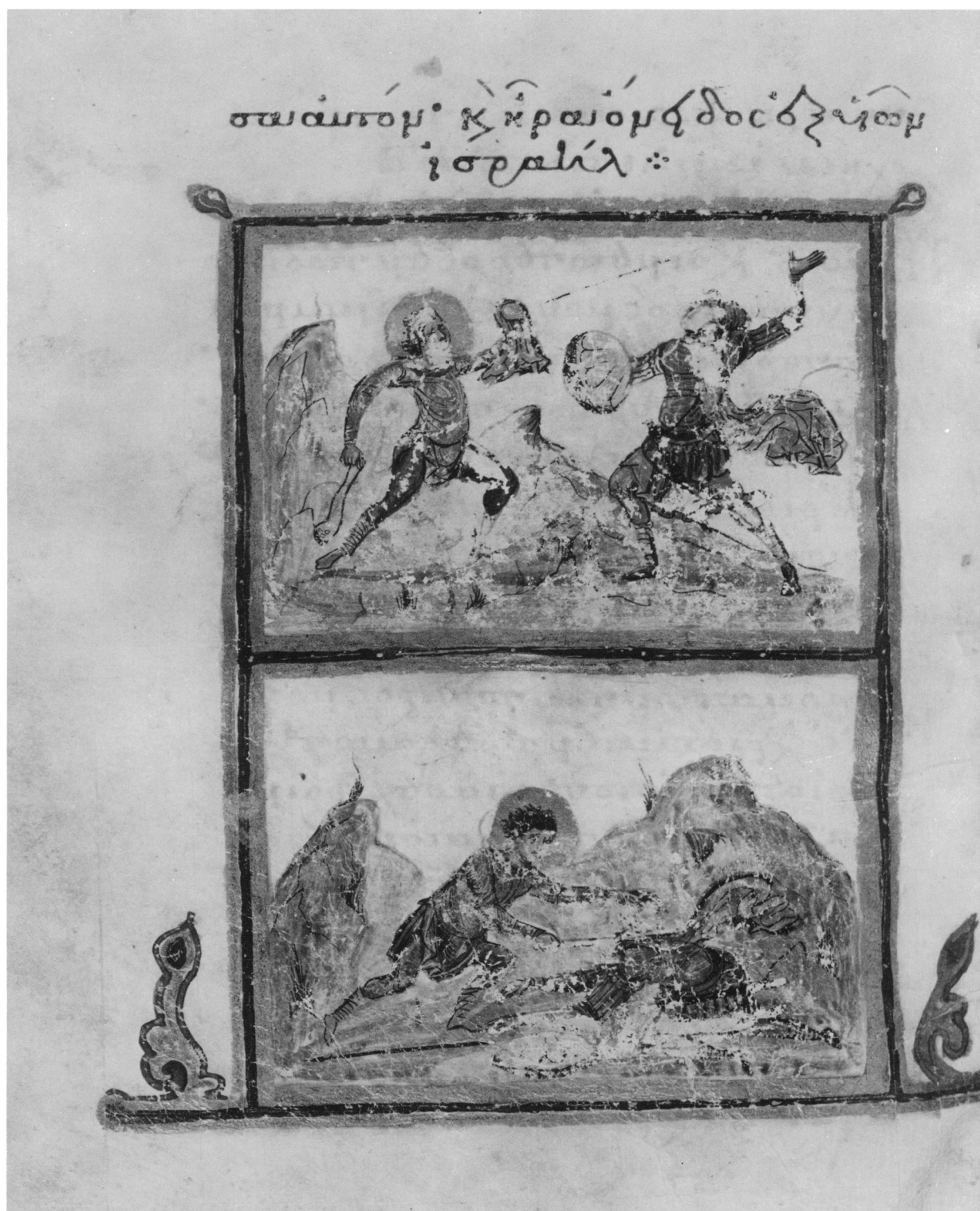
1. Harvard College Library, MS gr. 3, fol. 8v, The Deesis



2. Fol. 9r



3. Fol. 113r, Moses Presenting the Law to the Israelites



4. Harvard College Library, MS gr. 3, fol. 215v, David and Goliath



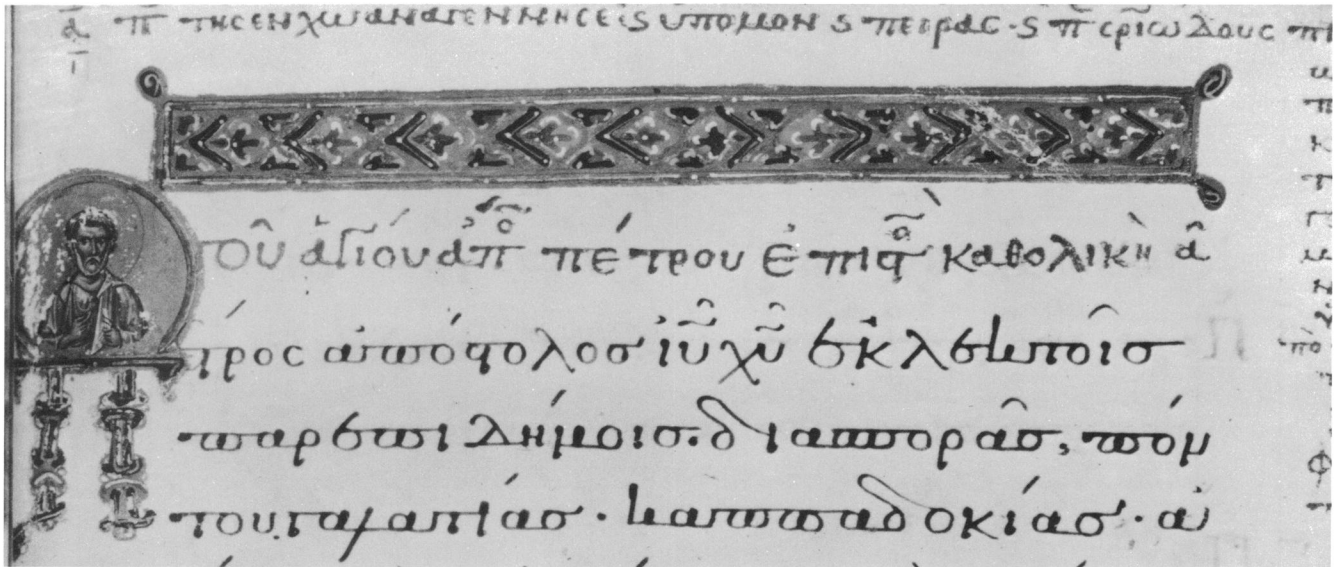
5. Harvard College Library, MS gr. 3, fol. 216v, The Crossing of the Red Sea



6. Harvard College Library, MS gr. 3, fol. 217^r, Headpiece, Moses



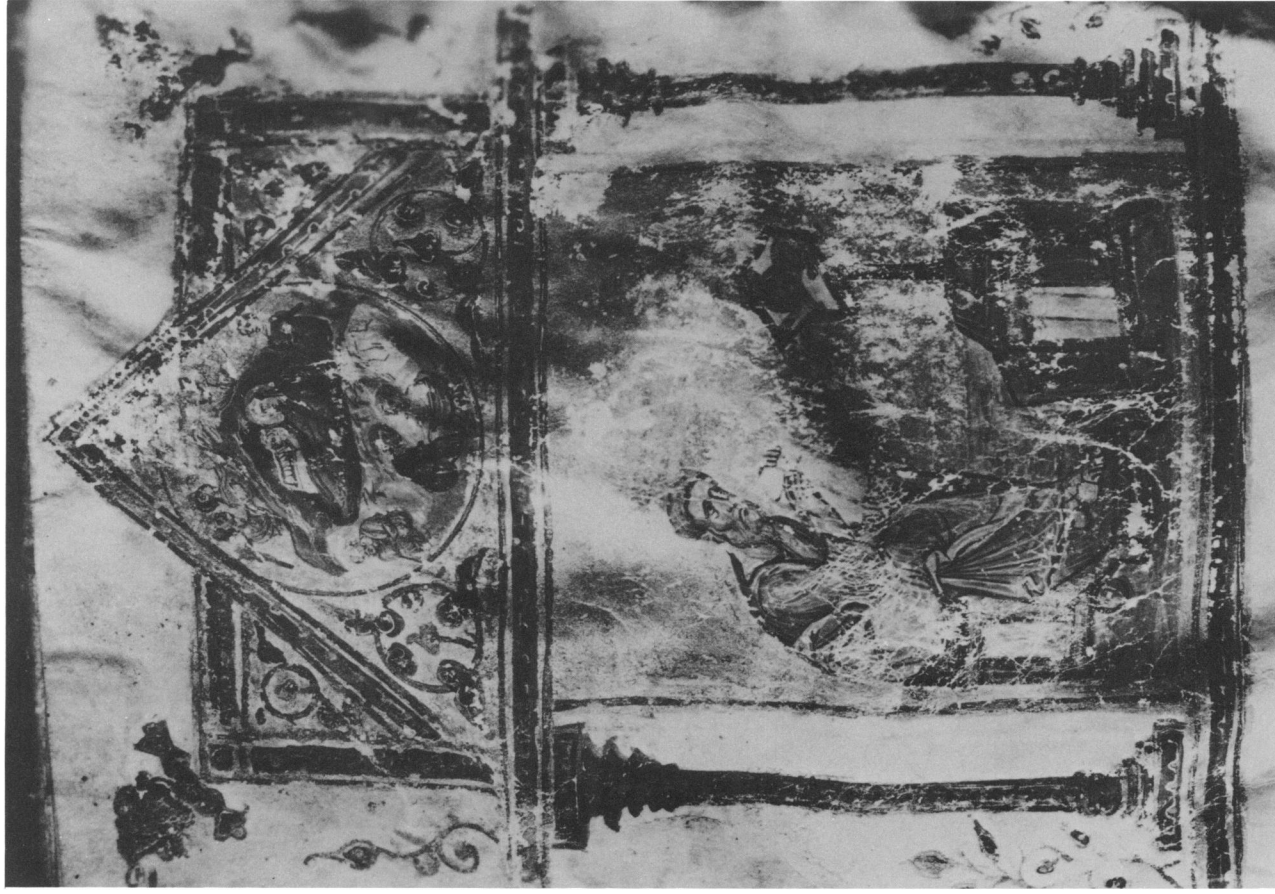
7. Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. suppl. gr. 1262, fol. 35^r, Headpiece, Christ and the Apostles



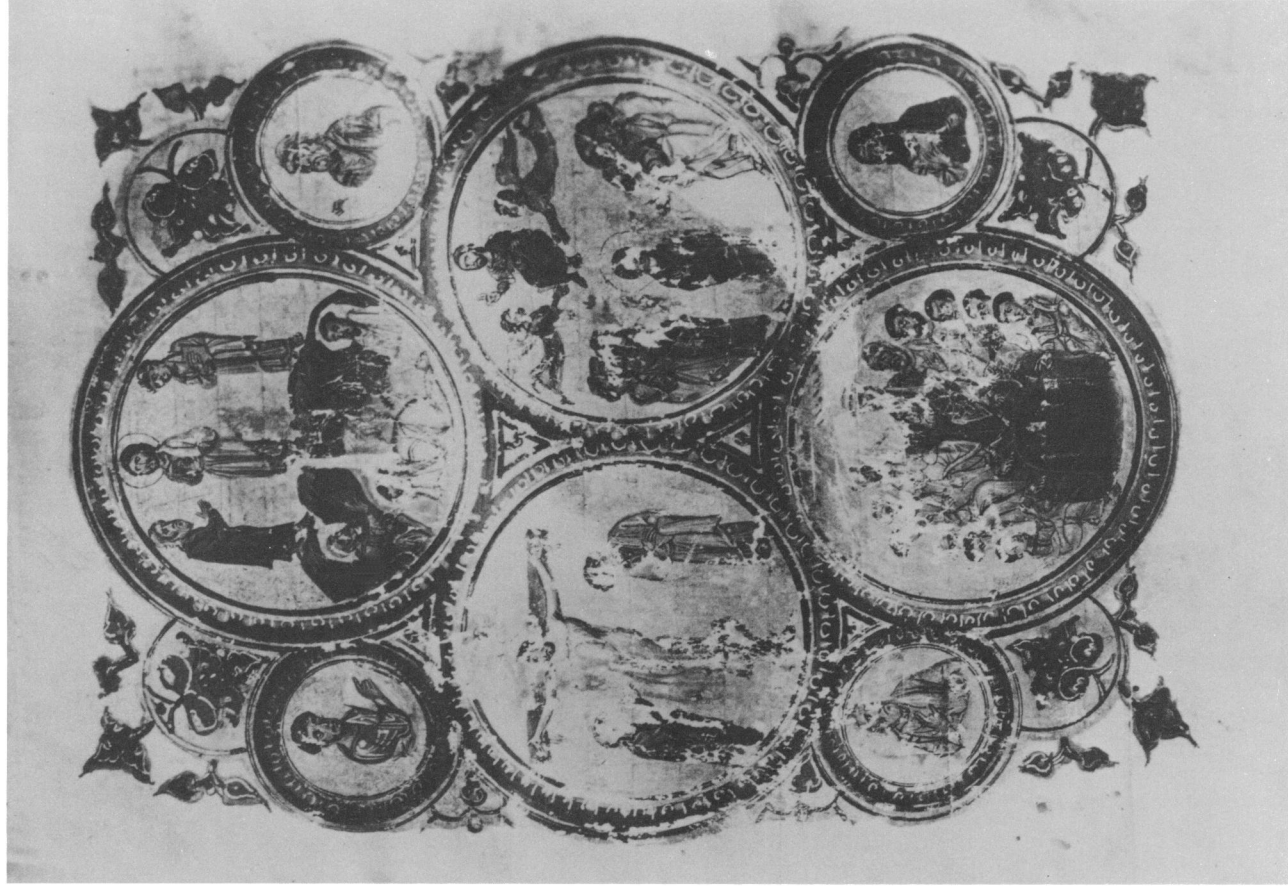
8. Fol. 141r, Peter



9. Fol. 184v, Paul



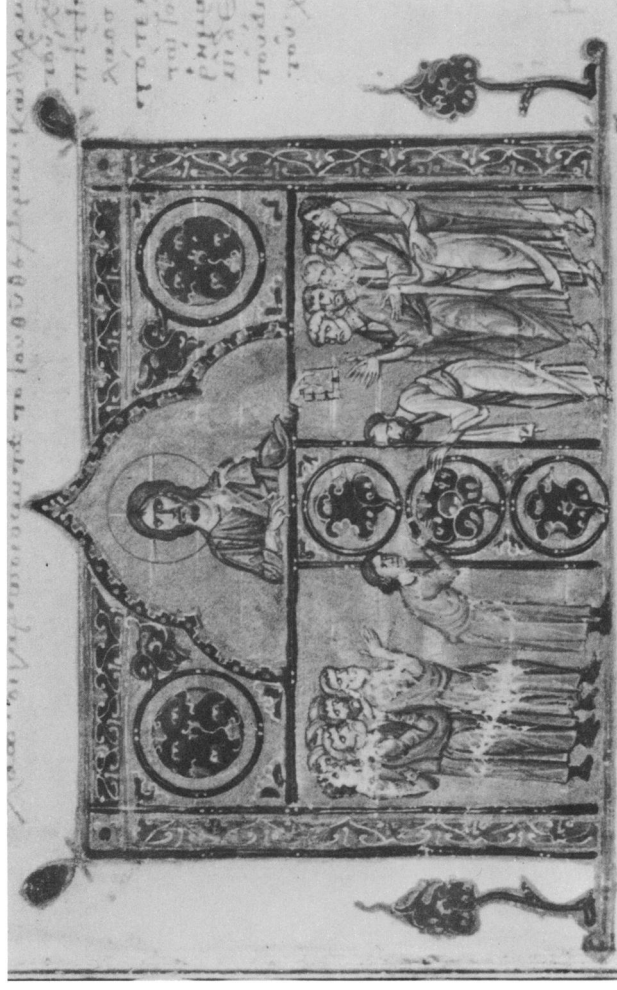
10. Fol. 6v, the Evangelist Matthew, the Nativity



11. Fol. 130r, Feast Pictures



12. Megaspelaion, cod. 8, fol. 208v, the Evangelist John and Prochoros, the Anastasis



13. Bibl. Vat., cod. gr. 342, fol. 134f, Headpiece to Psalm 77